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Loring, George Bailey.

Celebration of the birthday of  
Thomas Jefferson, at Salem, Mass.  
April 1st., 1859.

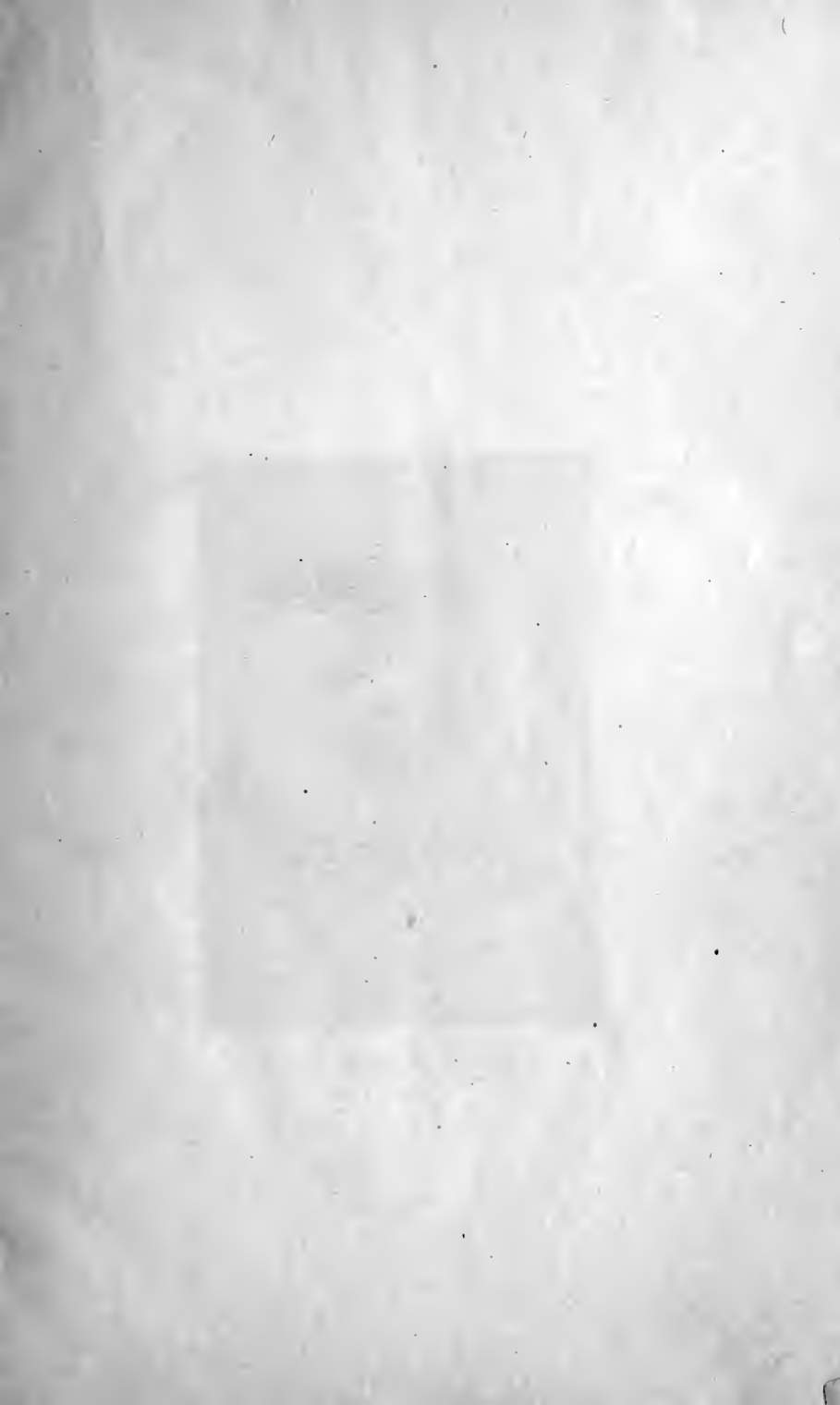
Oration...

1859.



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C E L E B R A T I O N

OF THE

BIRTH-DAY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON,

AT SALEM, MASS., APRIL 1st, 1859.

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ORATION BY DR. GEO. B. LORING;  
*aley*

S P E E C H E S

BY

HON. JOSEPH S. CABOT, COL. J. M. ADAMS, AND OTHERS;

L E T T E R S

BY

HON. J. C. BKECKINRIDGE, HON. HOWELL COBB, HON. JOHN B. FLOYD,  
HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS, HON. HENRY A. WISE, HON. B. F. HALLETT,  
HON. JOHN S. WELLS, HON. BION BRADBURY,  
HON. HARRY HIBBARD, GEN. J. S. WHITNEY, SAMUEL B. SUMNER, ESQ.  
S. O. LAMB, ESQ., J. E. FIELD, ESQ., AND OTHERS.

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SALEM:

PRINTED AT THE ADVOCATE OFFICE.

1859.

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## PROCEEDINGS, &C.

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The anniversary of the birth of THOMAS JEFFERSON was celebrated in Salem, on Friday April 1st, 1859. In selecting this day, the committee of arrangements were anxious to commemorate the date recorded in the Prayer Book of Jefferson's father, feeling that the associations which cluster around the record, are more interesting and valuable, than an observance of the precise anniversary, reckoned according to the modification of the calendar. The recorded date is April 2nd, 1743; and Friday the 1st was chosen, in order to avoid inconveniences which would have attended the observance on Saturday.

The Committee of arrangements was composed of the following gentlemen, viz:—Geo. B. Loring, Wm. B. Pike, George Upton, Wm. McMullen, Joseph S. Perkins, Geo. F. Putnam, John A. Currin, Daniel Brown, Charles Ward, John Ryan, N. Ingersoll, Connor B. Swasey, D. A. Lord, Darling Pitts, C. H. Manning, Horace Ingersoll, James Dodge, H. E. Jenks, Edward Wilson, Simon Pendar, A. F. Bosson, Henry Derby, M. D. Randall, G. W. Crosby, Edward Allen, Thomas Looby, T. J. Kinsley, E. Harvey Quimby, E. H. Dalton, Geo. W. Estes, Wm. Leach, E. L. Norfolk, S. R. Hodges, S. Fuller, Henry W. Perkins, Charles Millett, Eben Dodge, D. B. Gardner, Jr., George H. Blynn, E. C. Peabody, Joseph Rowell, Wm. L. Batchelder, J. Lovett Whipple.

Hon. JOSEPH S. CABOT was selected as President of the day, assisted by Wm. McMullen, Geo. Upton, and Joseph H. Perkins Esqs. of Salem, Hon. Albert Currier, of Newburyport Hon. Daniel Saunders Jr. of Lawrence, H. L. Durant of Lynn, John Carroll and Richard Ramsdell Esqs. of Marblehead.

Dr. GEORGE B. LORING was invited to deliver the oration on the occasion, and A. M. Ide jr. Esq., of Taunton, to deliver a poem.

Distinguished democrats in Massachusetts and from other states were invited to be present.

The following report of the proceedings, is taken chiefly from the *Boston Post* of April 2d.

"The anniversary was celebrated with ceremonies of an exceedingly interesting character, and in a manner becoming the sentiments of deep veneration entertained by the democrats of Essex County, and vicinity for the founder of their party—the great party of the union. Arrangements were made upon a most extensive scale, and old Salem was never the scene of a more brilliant or interesting festival—her democratic and union-loving citizens turning out in very large numbers to swell the general throng, and her streets being at certain hours of the day alive with strangers both from surrounding towns and distant places. At noon a salute of thirteen guns was fired. At two o'clock the doors of Mechanic Hall were opened for the reception of those desiring to participate in the exercises assigned for that place. The galleries of the large Hall were reserved for the ladies who rapidly filled the seats thereof, and while the people gathered within the hall, admirable music was furnished by the Salem Brass Band stationed in the centre gallery. At 2 1-2 o'clock the assemblage was called to order, by Hon. Joseph S. Cabot, and prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Allen, of Marblehead. The band entertained the audience with a pleasing air, and then followed the oration of Dr. Geo. B. Loring, of Salem, and the reception of that gentleman was extremely enthusiastic."

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## ORATION.

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My Friends and Countrymen:—The best gift God ever bestows upon his children is the life of a great man. Not for example alone—but for guidance, for protection, for preservation, for the creation of that marvellous social fabric, so diverse, so complex, so divine, does the spirit descend upon those whose lives are the introduction of new thought, the commencement of new eras, the birth of new nations. As the broad river of social life rolls on, the eternal hills shape its course, the mountains stand there to direct the sweeping curves, an island, uprising from the foundations of the earth, divides it, the majestic rock breasts it into eddies, and the work is done. Of gazing on these landmarks, the eye never tires. For at their feet lies the silver stream which they have guided on its way of benefit and beauty.

No nation ever sprang into life without its heroes. In the dim light of the past we see them presiding over its birth, stalwart and mysterious demigods, the giants of olden time, not great perhaps to their contemporaries, to their neighbors and friends, to their children, and fellow laborers. Not great to their neighbors I say; for it is only as the traveller leaves the shore, that mountain and headland rise in their full proportions before his vision, and he learns the grandeur in which he has lived all unconscious.

Now my friends, in this matter of heroes we of this nation possess peculiar and striking advantages. The master spirits, who gave direction to our first steps, are not enveloped in clouds of legend and mystery, nor is their work still half accomplished. There are those among us who knew them face to face; and already a great people enjoys the full fruition of all their counsels. The echoes of the deep and agonizing struggles in which they were engaged for us, have

hardly died away. The events of their lives are recounted to us by their contemporaries. The story of their action is but as last week's news. And while other people and nations see only the august shadows of those who shaped and moulded them into existence, the superhuman creations of tradition and fable, awful figures looming through the darkness of a feeble civilization, we have our heroes directly before us—their greatness and their littleness—their daily toil and their great design—their weakness and their strength—their divinity which made them godlike, and their humanity which made them our brethren.

Among these great men there was one who, by nature and by education, by association and by habits of thought, seemed set apart for the work of creating that republic, without which all the blood of the American Revolution would have been shed in vain. At the close of that contest, that long agony of privation and disaster, in which, through victory and defeat, through storm and shine, the great commander had patiently and serenely led a distracted and beggared community of colonies, from step to step, in their strife for freedom—our country was divided by the jealousies of states and the ambitions of individuals. I have often thought that at that time Washington alone was our union. Massachusetts was then as now sharp and alert for her own peculiar rights. South Carolina was "armed with jealous care," against the encroachments of those with whom, but just now, she had stood "shoulder to shoulder in the strife for their country." Virginia could not forget the commerce of the Chesapeake Bay. Pennsylvania and Georgia, New York and Maryland, never forgot, that even in the common toil they possessed inherent privileges, which it was one great duty of their capacity as free states to preserve and pro-

fect. The close of the war too sent a race of active, vigorous, ambitious men back to retirement. The smoke of the battle had cleared away, and the opportunity which a rising government would give, appeared before them with all its temptations. The impetuous and fiery Adams, the prophet of freedom, the orator and diplomatist, had been too long and too intimately connected with public affairs, not to feel that he had a right to an important part in their control. Hancock, the fearless and princely merchant, had a keen personal solicitude for the success of an enterprise in which he had staked life and property. Greene and Gates had fought long and well for the great consummation, and now that it had come they longed to feel the sweet pressure of the laurels on their brows. Hamilton and Henry and Madison could not contemplate with indifference the high honors which were hourly unfolding before their eyes—honors which they had established with their earliest vigor. Jefferson and Franklin saw from the brilliant and dazzling splendors of the most accomplished court in Europe, new and more refulgent glories in that young western empire which their genius had developed, and which their diplomacy had brought into recognition. That was indeed the most trying hour in our history. That was the hour when freedom was threatened with the horrors and trials of anarchy. The great principles which had been proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, were enough to inspire the patriotism of our people during the war—but those very principles might have been perverted at any moment into an argument in favor of a separate political organization for each colony. And in this season of peril, before a common bond had been created, before a common brotherhood had gathered around one national altar, the fate of the future republic rested, I am constrained to believe, in the hands of one man, whose freedom from ambition, and whose stern devotion placed him far beyond the reach of rivalry, grand, majestic, broad as the heavens, and as pure. It was a time when upon the character of one man hung the fate of a nation. And it was Washington, before whom all statesmen of that crisis bowed, Washington, who had borne the country through the conflict, Washington, strong in the comprehensiveness of his patriotism,

in his universal sympathy for, and intimate acquaintance with, each colony, Washington, who stood aloof and apart, high removed by the brilliancy of his successes into almost supernatural eminence before a worshipping people, and who in all his human qualities was the model of integrity and modesty, of sagacity and transparency, of inflexible will and aboriginal adroitness, it was Washington alone at whose feet all jealousies were of necessity laid aside, and all rivalries were consigned to popular contempt. Washington was indeed the Father of his Country: but it was the great teacher of the doctrines of republicanism, under whose training the child was to be brought into the knowledge of those principles of government, which have elevated it to a position worthy of its high parentage. And it was THOMAS JEFFERSON, the great apostle of civil freedom, the embodiment of democratic truth, the friend and expounder of human rights, the fearless foe of every form of oppression, who having declared that the colonies were and "of right ought to be free and independent," pointed out the path by which the highest glory of national independence could be reached.—Washington laid the foundation, and Jefferson built the structure. The one a stern commander, the other an ardent philosopher; the one a soldier, the other a civilian; the one firm as the everlasting hills in his moral grandeur, the other grand as the swelling river in the riches of his intellectual vigor; the one educated in the forest and the camp to all the robust strength and subtle prudence of an accomplished warrior, the other cultivated into the elegance of an accomplished scholar; the one armed with a two-edged sword, the other with a keener and more eloquent pen; the one obedient to an overpowering impulse of freedom, the other inquiring and proclaiming what true freedom is; one the martial statesman, the other the civil statesman; both patriots, both gentle in their sympathies, both defiant, both possessed of that stateliness of person and spirit which attends true greatness, both heroes, both Americans.

It is to the contemplation of JEFFERSON that we are called upon to devote this hour, of Jefferson, the man, the patriot, the philanthropist, the statesman.

The second of April, 1743, was his birthday; eleven years after Washington was

born, and ten years before their native colony was exposed to that savage warfare, in which the great American General took his first lessons in the art of war.

His birth-place was in the charming valley of the Rivanna, a rich and luxuriant section of Virginia, in which are combined the grandeur of mountain scenery, and the subdued and placid beauty of woodland, valley and plain. It was a bounteous and ennobling prospect upon which the eyes of Jefferson first opened. The fertile lands which lay around him, inspired him with a love of rural life, with its large instincts, its deep love of country, its love of everything that lives and moves, its love of the land; while the towering mountains which encircled his home, stood there as types of the majesty and elevation of human thought. The wind which sighed through the "sounding aisles" of that old primeval forest, the storm which burst in madness from the hills, the murmuring stream tracing its way through lands untrod by man, the broad acres of his father's farm, the budding and growing and harvesting and reposing year, the Spring time promise and the golden October sun, the birds of the air and the beasts of the field, all breathed into his mind a large and abounding sense of freedom.

His father was a man of gigantic stature and strength, patient of hardship and fatigue, fearless, judicious, firm and honest—full of tenderness and poetic sensibility, fond of the best English classics, and affectionately devoted to his family. He was a successful Virginia planter, as his son was after him.

The mother of Jefferson is described as having had a "a most amiable and affectionate disposition, a lively, cheerful temper, and a great fund of humor." Her maiden name was Jane Randolph—a name associated with everything princely, refined, elegant and hospitable in the high-toned old colony of Virginia, a colony and a people from whence Massachusetts received the first response for her efforts in behalf of freedom.

It was in this class that Jefferson found his early companions. He was a most exemplary scholar, and he was also the most agreeable participant of all the gaieties of that early colonial life. Among the Randolphs he took the lead in all social enjoyments. He was one of the most fearless and graceful of horsemen. He played the violin

with taste and skill. And it was in this society, when he was seventeen years of age, that he commenced that system of intellectual training which he never discontinued through a long and eventful life. He was a fine and even critical Latin and Greek scholar. He became familiar with French, Italian, Spanish from time to time, and he cultivated that style which attracted the attention of the leading minds of the day, and led to his selection as the proper author of the immortal instrument, with which his name is proudly connected.

In all his researches, he displayed a strong devotion to questions of practical importance. He was singularly impatient of all useless metaphysical speculation. He read few novels. But wherever a great truth had been promulgated, the application of which promised to benefit mankind, his mind seized upon it with unerring avidity. While he associated familiarly and intimately with those whom the custom of the times placed in the highest social rank, while he moved in a society possessing all the virtues and accomplishments, as well as all the vices of an aristocracy, his mind seems to have been constantly alive to every popular sentiment, and quick to perceive the faintest ray of democratic truth.

As a student at law, few men, not even our distinguished jurists, have been more diligent. His teacher, George Wythe, was one of the purest, ablest, and most profoundly erudite lawyers ever produced by a State which has been particularly famous for good lawyers. In the society of this accomplished teacher, and as a rival of the Randolphs, the leaders of the Virginia bar, he laid the foundation of a deep comprehension of the great principles of civil law, as the basis of true constitutional freedom. Fortunately his career at the bar was short.—The fortune which he possessed rendered the practice of his profession unnecessary, and enabled him to escape all the narrowing influences of sharp work in the practical application of those principles which served to direct his thoughts, and to prepare him for the high sphere of statesmanship. If Jefferson had not studied law, he could not have devised the Declaration—had he practised law, he would probably never have written it.

He was about thirty years old when he

became a politician. He brought to the business of politics, the training of which I have spoken, a mind well balanced, and a high and honorable rule of conduct. He was now just arriving at mental and physical maturity.

His biographer tells us that his "appearance was engaging. His face, though angular, and far from beautiful, beamed with intelligence, with benevolence, and with the vivacity of a happy, hopeful spirit. His complexion was ruddy and delicately fair; his reddish chesnut hair luxuriant and silken. His full, deep-set eyes, the prevailing color of which was a light hazel, were peculiarly expressive, and mirrored, as the clear lake mirrors the cloud, every emotion which was passing through his mind. He stood six feet two and a half inches in height, and though very slim at this period, his form was erect and sinewy, and his movements displayed elasticity and vigor. He was an expert musician, a dashing rider, and there was no manly exercise in which he could not play well his part. His manners were unusually graceful, but simple and cordial. His conversation already possessed no inconsiderable share of that charm which, in after years, was so much extolled by friends, and to which enemies attributed so seductive an influence, in moulding the young and wavering to his political views. There was a frankness, earnestness, and cordiality in his tone—a deep sympathy with humanity—a confidence in man, and a sanguine hopefulness in his destiny, which irresistibly won upon the feelings not only of the ordinary hearer, but of those grave men whose commerce with the world had led them to form less glowing estimates of it. His temper was gentle, kindly and forgiving, subjugated by habitual control, but possessing that calm self-reliance and courage which all instinctively recognize and respect." He was never known to resent a personal indignity, for no man dared insult him. In the gay society in which he moved, where fortunes were constantly lost and won on the hazard of a die, he never gambled. He was temperate in all things. He was precise and methodical in his business; had large landed estates which he managed with great prudence and skill as a planter; and altogether possessed a combination of attractions which gave a peculiar charm to

that career of greatness upon which he was just now entering.

It was in 1769 that Jefferson commenced his political career, as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses; the same year that this body responded to the declaration by Massachusetts, that the colonies possessed exclusive right of self-taxation, the right to petition for redress of grievances, and to secure the concurrence of other colonies therein, and the right of jury trial within their own jurisdiction. It was the first rumbling of that earthquake which severed the colonies from Great Britain. Between this and the memorable events of 1773, there was a pause—but by no means an insensibility of the dangers and trials which awaited the American people. So far as Jefferson was concerned, the pause seems to have been providential—for it furnished him an opportunity to erect his mansion and fix his family as Monticello, that home which he has rendered so famous, and which has been enrolled among the spots sacred to freedom on the American continent.

And now the great work of his life began. For two years he labored incessantly, in his state, to keep her up to the high standard of action required by the crisis. With Randolph and Nicholas, and Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee, he kept the popular sentiment of Virginia roused to a full appreciation of the importance of the part she was to perform. Young as he was, the popular heart was with him. The people felt that while Henry and Lee were eloquent, and Randolph and Nicholas learned and astute, there was glowing in the breast of the more silent, but not less prompt, quick, decisive and energetic youth, a fire which nothing but death could quench, and that the path which he trod led up to the temple of popular freedom. At this age he drew up that remarkable reply of Virginia to Lord North's "conciliatory proposition," a reply which inspired the timid with courage, and strengthened the feeble knees, and which was the first colonial declaration of that high determination expressed by Patrick Henry, when he exclaimed to an electrified assembly of Burgesses—"We must fight!" Having thus accomplished what the times demanded of him at home, he was chosen to a higher sphere, and entered congress in 1775, the youngest member of that body, bearing

in his hand the reply of which I have spoken, and stepping at once into the ranks of the foremost statesmen of his age.

The congress of that day! What a constellation! John Adams—the impassioned, the irresistible, the eloquent, the alert, the indefatigable, the adroit, the courageous, the knight of chivalry, ready to measure his lance with all comers in his defense of “Independence now, and Independence forever.” Samuel Adams—“the Man of the revolution,” as he has been called—the logical, the fearless, the systematical, the practical, the deep, the profound, the great wire-puller in all the earliest movements of the revolution. Franklin—the philosopher, the tactician, the diplomatist, the wise, nervous, witty, epigrammatic writer, with a reputation already established on both continents, and with a devotion to the cause of his country which had led him to sever every tie that interfered with his patriotic duty.—Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, the rival of Patrick Henry, in that peculiar gift of speech which holds the world in awe, and before which senates bow like forests before the gale. McKean, the “indomitable.” Elbridge Gerry, then young but bold and sagacious, as free and broad as the heaving and boundless sea upon which his eye rested in childhood, and as immovable as the rock-bound shores of old Essex, the county of his birth, the spot so rich in sons who have enrolled their names upon almost every bright page in their country’s history—jurists, statesmen, merchants, benefactors, philanthropists, divines. Nelson, the “high-spirited.” Harrison the “bluff and hearty.” Sherman the “uncompromising.” Rutledge and Livingston, and Morris, “learned in the law,” in honor bright, “without fear and without reproach.” It was an assembly like this in which Jefferson in the first dawn of his manhood, having as John Adams says, already won “the reputation of a masterly pen,” was called upon as a chairman of a committee of five, to prepare a “Declaration of Independence.”

The Declaration is immortal. There may be “glittering generalities” there; there may be doctrines troublesome to the rigors of legal investigation: there may be thoughts which the demagogue may pervert, and which the precisian may deny; but as an inspiring “tract for the times” it is unequal-

led; as a record of wrongs it is compact with graphic power; as an appeal to the instinct and sentiment of mankind, the world has no parallel; ancient proclamations grow narrow, modern ones feeble in their refinement, before the startling and majestic and all-embracing and all-sustaining announcement of principles upon which men everywhere “free and equal” may rest the foundations of all true government. I would not criticise the Declaration of Independence. I find no cause for defending it. For in it I see no excuse for treason, no reward for anarchy, no disruption of those laws under which God created the races of men here upon the earth, no ground for violating social obligations, no argument for license.—But I find written everywhere in letters of living light, a recognition of those rights and privileges, for the preservation of which “Governments are instituted among men,” and which are open to all who rise to the elevation of free citizenship. I learn that by Government, self-constituted, man preserves his social equality, ennobles his occupation, cultivates his mind, enlightens his conscience, liberalizes his heart, and protects himself against the horrid devastations of ignorance, and bigotry, of superstitions, delusions, fanaticism and crime. And I look up with reverent admiration at the heavenly heights prepared for associated man, by that civil organization in which all enjoy their fitting opportunities, and in which alone mankind can be “free and equal.”

Need I tell you how sublimely Jefferson bore himself in all the trials that followed, ever true to the great Declaration, at all times the right hand of Washington, his counsellor and friend. As Governor of Virginia, he defied obloquy and reproach in preserving the Republican faith against all attacks. At that early day he was obliged to sustain in his own state, the home of Washington, a constitutional government, against a powerful faction clamoring for a dictatorship. He was stung by threats of impeachment. The invading army laid waste his estates with fire and sword, driving his people into the savage servitude of foreign soldiery from which the pestilence that attends on war alone released them. Tortured as he was by the misfortunes of his country and by the injustice of his peers, overwhelmed with almost unmanly grief by

domestic affliction, he never lost sight of the great cause, and devoted himself to the establishment of religious freedom, and to the equalization of the rights of property, as the first steps in popular advancement.

The complications of the contest became appalling—but he never faltered. The North had witnessed the glories of victory, the scarcely dimmer glories of masterly retreat, the defection and treason of those who could not “endure unto the end,” the agony and the fortitude of a distressed and struggling people. The south had beheld the chivalrous deeds of Sumpter and Marion, the surrender of Savannah, the hard fought fields of Monmouth and Camden, and the threats and dangers of intrigue and cabal. And Virginia had become the point against which the whole power of the enemy was to be directed. And there the war ended. The years of doubt, during which, under the guidance of Jefferson as her Chief Magistrate, she had exhausted her treasury and decimated her citizens, that her favorite son might be sustained, and her country made free, were rewarded with the glorious consummation of Yorktown, where upon her own soil the enemy laid down his arms, and the experiment of a free government began.

And now it was Jefferson who reported a treaty of peace with England. It was he who proposed a “committee of the states” for common safety and protection. It was he who in connection with Morris reported a system of coinage and a money unit plan for the country. It was he who designed the national seal of the “United States of America.” His name appears on all the important committees of congress at that time; and it was evidently his spirit which controlled that body to a great extent in the arrangement of that form of confederation which served to unite the states in temporary bonds, until the time arrived for the adoption of the constitution. Having thus discharged this duty at home he went abroad, as Minister Plenipotentiary to act with Adams and Franklin in securing a proper recognition of our existence among the nations of the earth.—He sailed from Boston July 5th, 1784, and returned Oct. 16th, 1789—to take his seat as secretary of state in the cabinet of Washington.

The constitution had been adopted

during his absence, not without difficulty, not without great difference of opinion, both as regarded its character as a system of government, and as regarded its future application. Hamilton, Madison and Jay, separated perhaps by their views of government, had yet united their strong powers to secure its adoption. And although by an almost spontaneous act of the people, Washington had been elevated to the presidency, two parties already existed, the natural consequences of our early history, and differing in their understanding of the relations of the states to each other and to the general government.

It was under these circumstances and in this cabinet, that Jefferson and Hamilton were first brought into close contact. Jefferson was now forty-six, Hamilton only thirty-four. The former born on American soil, imbued with the spirit of American Independence, educated into the genius of free government, the apostle of American republicanism; the latter born on a little island among the West Indies, educated as a merchant's clerk, a volunteer in the American army, where by his genius and discipline, he won the confidence of Washington, the advocate of a free constitution as the foundation of an oligarchy of education, ability and wealth. The one advocating a general government to sustain, the other to “swallow up the state powers;” the one believing in the people as the origin of government, the other believing in government as the origin of the people; the one a philosopher, the other a logician; the one a promulgator of general conclusions, and abstract views, the other an acute and subtle advocate; the one viewing society with broad expanded vision from an elevation as high as his own Blue Ridge, the other concentrating his burning glance upon a single point of policy; the one the founder of the great system of government under which we live, the other the organizer of the treasury department of the United States upon a plan which still exists as a monument to his peculiar genius; the one clothed with the panoply of high moral self-possession, the other a humble and contrite penitent after each transgression; both sincere, both honest, both honorable. They remained together until the 31st of Decem-

ber, 1793, when Jefferson retired to his plantation, to appear again in a higher sphere of action. In cabinet council, Hamilton was more than his match; and it was only when he appeared before the people that he was able to demolish his powerful rival, and his theory of government, along with him.

It was the election of Jefferson as President of the United States in 1801, which inaugurated that system of civil polity which has prevailed in our country to the present time. It was in reality the commencement of republican simplicity in the administration of public affairs. The imposing ceremony which attended the inauguration of Washington, the coat of arms which glittered upon his yellow-panelled carriage, his liveried servants, and his gallant equipage, the state which the President and Mrs. Washington maintained in public, were the natural remnants of the ante-revolutionary courtly customs, which a long military life had impressed upon the mind of the Father of his Country. President Adams too, had his republican court, adorned with republican pomp.—When Jefferson assumed the reins of government he rode down the avenue on horseback, unattended and plainly dressed. “He tied his horse to the paling which surrounds the Capitol grounds, and without ceremony entered the senate chamber.”

A new era had commenced. Without ostentation the President proceeded to carry out those views which he laid down in his first inaugural address:—

“Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concern, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe correction of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided: absolute acqui-

escence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; the supremacy of civil over the military authority; economy in the public expences, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected.”

May I not call this our second Declaration of Independence? May I not speak of the election of Jefferson as our second revolution, peaceable and bloodless? How otherwise could he hold such a place in our political history? No man in this day dare deny his political principles. He who was derided as a Jacobin, charged with defrauding the widow and the fatherless, abused as an atheist, accused of the basest private immoralities, denounced by a partizan pulpit, opposed as they said by all the learning and all the decency of the times, held up before the people as a destroyer of religion and a subverter of good government, is now received as the apostle of freedom, the founder of the most brilliant form of government ever known, the creator of the only truly successful republic the world has ever seen, while the theories of Hamilton and Adams are almost forgotten, and the political policy of even Washington himself is almost unknown. Why is this?

It is because Jefferson had entire and unbounded faith in the “virtue, wisdom and intelligence of the people,” and because he thoroughly comprehended and thoroughly loved the political experiment which began on this continent, at the settlement of the colonies. He has been charged with having brought his principles from the club rooms of revolutionary France. But no man can find them there. Rousseau, and Robespierre, and Barras, and Vergniaud, the Encyclopædists, and the Girondists, all proclaimed that the government is the origin of all



power, and the regulator of all prosperity. They differed from the monarchists simply in the form in which government should be organized. But Jefferson learned from the history of his own country that all power springs from the people. The Puritan and the Huguenot had fled hither from persecution in Europe, to found an empire based upon the sacredness of individual rights. And Jefferson learned his lesson from them. It was these rights which were asserted on board the Mayflower as she was moored in the bay, in solemn suspense before that hard and frowning shore. It was these rights which were violated in Boston, and were defended at Concord, and Bunker Hill. They were woven into the Declaration of Independence. They were never forgotten by the colonies. Jefferson found them engrafted on the constitution as he understood it; and it was the business of his public life to maintain and defend them. While others were searching among the ruins of decayed and broken republics, for materials out of which to construct a new temple of freedom, he seized upon those living and perennial principles which his own land afforded, and which the saints and martyrs of American Independence hastened to lay at the feet of him—the great American democrat, of him who taught the American people that the constitution is their property, their defense.

The constitution—which, as interpreted by Jefferson, distributes all the powers of government among the governed. While the federalists of that day were laboring for the preservation of the Federal government, by giving it an independent authority, and a power to resist what they called “state encroachments,” Jefferson stood forth as the advocate of delegated powers, conferred by the sovereign states. While John Adams, unmindful of the strength which flowed in upon the general government from those “little democracies,” at whose hearthstones were kindled the fires of the revolution, unmindful of the majesty of that voice which the American people had uttered through their representatives in times of trial, unmindful of his own origin, and arrogant in the possession of power, declared that it was the “commons who destroyed the wisest republic, and enslaved the noblest people that ever entered on the stage of the world,” while John Adams was thus engaged in his old age, in laying the axe at the root of the tree which in the ardor and impetuosity of youth he had

planted—Jefferson relied upon the popular branch as the very foundation of all free government. To the mind of Adams, the revolution was the means of establishing an American republic with a President at its head—to the mind of Jefferson, it was the opportunity which the colonies seized for the establishment of their own sovereignty, consummated at last by the compact of the confederation of states. To the mind of Adams, American freedom was a boon bestowed upon the inhabitants of thirteen states—to the mind of Jefferson it was the impulse given to a continental republic, and a blessing bestowed upon “every kindred, nation and tongue under heaven” asking to be free. Adams the busy, the restless, the fervid, could never contemplate his country, without seeing himself in the foreground of the picture—Jefferson saw nothing there but a mighty people engaged in establishing institutions of free religion, popular intelligence, and civil law, for their own elevation. Adams labored to convince the people that he was right—Jefferson labored to convince the people that they were themselves right, when governed by their own intelligence and virtue. Adams, like his philanthropic followers of the present day, conceived that the people had a right to control their own affairs according to rules of conduct laid down for them by himself and his party—Jefferson felt that they had a right to “control their own affairs in their own way, under the constitution.” Jefferson felt the full import and value of citizenship. He knew that the privileges enjoyed by the humblest citizen on the confines of civilization in our republic, should make his hamlet the abode of powers as high as those which find shelter at the centre of civil organization—aye, higher, for upon that citizen rests a responsibility more sacred than potentates have ever possessed. He is the creator of a government. His voice it is, which says to “one man go and he goeth, and to another come and he cometh.” The rulers of the land are his delegated agents. The reserved rights which he possesses, constitute a sovereignty before which Presidents and Cabinets and Senators bow in submission. The constitution under which he lives recognizes his position as the foundation of all civil organization. It is his intelligent effort which constitute the power of his people. And all the rights and interests of the generation in which he lives, call upon him to rise to that intellectual and moral elevation which can alone enable him to discharge the high duties which devolve upon him. Religion, pure and undefiled, appeals to his free conscience and would add her graces to his life. His powers are all his own, and call upon him to be true to that trust which gives free scope to all attributes,



and by ennobling himself, elevates his occupation to a standard worthy indeed of being called the wealth of a nation.

Inspired with this thought, Jefferson devoted himself to the work of creating our republic. The system of government which unfolded in his mind, presented to him the opportunity for that peaceful human progress for which the race is planted upon the earth. With him, this was no dream, no creation of a diseased imagination, but a practical reality, to be reached by the exercise of practical wisdom. When the early teacher of what is called liberal Christianity was expelled from England for his civil and religious opinions, he found a sympathizer and friend in the great author of the "Act of Religious Freedom," while the name of Priestley was but just known on this continent, and while Channing was but a student of theology, and only dreamed of that faith in humanity which already warmed the heart of Jefferson as a vital conviction. The liberality which filled his mind with the largest religious toleration, led him to adopt that form of Christian faith, which should furnish a place for every variety of sect and creed in a Christian republic. He encouraged education because he felt that none but an intelligent people can be free. He declared the states to be sovereign, because in no other way could the existence of our republic be established, and its area be extended. He enlarged our borders, because he knew that the strength of our confederation would increase in proportion to the multitude of interests which should rally round a common cause. Amidst the denunciations of the sectionalists of that day, who assailed him as a slavery propagandist, he purchased Louisiana, mindful of the principle that to each state belonged her own domestic institutions: and in after life he denounced the violation of this principle in the passage of the Missouri compromise. In all the measures of his administration, he evinced a sagacity and foresight and ingenuity, whose designs are not even yet fulfilled, and which gave a direction to our republic, which no man has yet been able to direct. And when in after ages, in the high career of our confederation, the historian and statesman shall look back for that theory of government, which has created the refulgence of the heavens, by giving to each star its own peculiar glory, he will find that the national greatness which surrounds him, is but the fulfilment of the high thoughts which occupied the mind of Jefferson, and roused him to bold and unceasing action.

This is the triumph which Jefferson has achieved on this continent, as a politician, a statesman and a philanthropist.

He retired from the presidency and closed his public life in 1809. Demonstrations of re-

spect and affection poured in upon him from every quarter of the union—from state, city, county and town. In the legislature of Virginia, the illustrious William Wirt moved an address to him, declaring that—

"We have to thank you for the model of an administration conducted on the purest principles of republicanism; for pomp and state laid aside; patronage discarded; internal taxes abolished; a host of superfluous officers disbanded; the monarchic maxim that a national debt is a national blessing, removed, and more than thirty-three millions of our debt discharged; the native right to near one hundred millions of acres of our national domain extinguished; and without the guilt or calamities of conquest, a vast and fertile region added to our country, far more extensive than her original possessions, bringing along with it the Mississippi and the port of Orleans, the trade of the west and the Pacific ocean, and in the intrinsic value of the land itself, a source of permanent and almost inexhaustible revenue. \* \* From the first brilliant and happy moment of your resistance to foreign tyranny until the present day, we mark with pleasure and with gratitude the same uniform and consistent character—the same warm and devoted attachment to liberty and the republic, the same Roman love of your country, her rights, her peace, her honor, her prosperity."

For himself he says—

"Within a few days I retire to my family, my books, and my farms; and having gained the harbor myself, I shall look on my friends still buffeting the storm with anxiety indeed, but not with envy. Never did a prisoner released from his chains feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power. Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science by rendering them my supreme delight. But the enormities of the times in which I have lived have forced me to take a part in resisting them and to commit myself on the boisterous ocean of political passions. I thank God for the opportunity of retiring from them without censure, and carrying with me the most consoling proofs of public approbation."

He was now sixty-three years old. He retired as he proposed to the quiet pleasures of his family at Monticello—but never forgetting during the remainder of a long life that he had a country. He lived to see his policy sustained. His voice was always heard in every crisis. He urged the division of his native state into counties and towns, that the distribution of political power among the people might be more perfect. He laid the foundation of the University of Virginia, and when the feebleness of old age confined him to his home, he watched for hours through a telescope the progress of the buildings which he had designed

for the education of the people up to the standard of intelligence and virtue required by free institutions.

In the domestic circle his presence was charming. For his own retirement he preserved mementoes of his wife and those children who had gone before him, and with them he held his daily sacred communion. To his grandchildren and their young associates his society was always a source of delight. The charms of his conversation, which had been one of his strongest faculties in public life, gave him peculiar attractions in the private circle. Here his quick sympathies were all alive, and although pressed upon by the curious and compelled to entertain hosts of admirers, his equanimity never forsook him, nor were the wants of any forgotten.

On that commanding eminence which he had selected in early life, and named Monticello, as the spot around which all his affections might cluster, he found that repose he had so honorably won. The broad expanding landscape of Virginia was before him. From his threshold to the Blue Ridge lay the great valley stretching away in all the luxuriance of that refulgent latitude, and bounded by a horizon in which mountain and cloud commingled in the soft azure of a Southern sky. His lands lay all about him. The sweet associations of country life, upon which his eye first opened, came back to cheer his old age, and to warm his heart after its exposure to a chilling world. He loved the soil. The plants and processes of nature were all dear to him. He rode his spirited horse as no man can who has not learned the courage and gallantry of the animal. He lived on, a patriarch among his people, a philosopher, a scholar, a Christian. And when the anniversary of his great appeal for freedom, of the birth-day of his nation, came round, and the first half century of our existence closed, with deliberate preparation, and with that calm repose which belongs to a truly great life, he "wrapped the drapery of his couch about him" and was gathered to his fathers.

I cannot discuss his defects. They say he had no religion—but he lived and died like a Christian. They say he was jealous for his country, and too sensitive with regard to her freedom—but we now reap the reward of his labors. They say he was not logical—but his great mind passed on with unerring impulse to conclusions which have become a part of the gospel of freedom. They say he would not have made a general—but the very tenderness of his sensibility which disarmed him as a warrior, gave him immortal power as a civilian, a philanthropist, and a popular leader. They say he was not eloquent—but his words have passed into proverbs. They said he was a demagogue—but the people followed him be-

cause from first to last he maintained one all pervading thought for their equality and elevation.

The refulgence of his work still remains undimmed—for, from ocean to ocean, his system has extended, embracing a continent in the clear pure air of popular freedom. To him who contemplates only the actors in this busy scene, who estimates the virtues of the people by the character of the myriads of aspirants who come and go, the sky may be filled with gathering clouds and gloom. But not so to him who remembers the trials out of which our nation was born. Not so to him who feels that the popular heart still beats responsive as it did in the days of Jefferson, to every great constitutional truth upon which a popular government rests. As I survey the high career of my country, and how gallantly she keeps on her way, the efforts of factions and the designs of the ambitious, fall all harmless at her feet. I cannot repine when dishonest men are in power, for I know that with the people from whom they came, and to whom they must return, virtue and honesty still remain. I cannot fear, when storms seem gathering over our land, for I have learned in our own day, that a deep and patriotic sense of the sacred obligations of an American citizen, a sense inspired by sitting at the feet of our revolutionary fathers, a living faith founded on the Constitution, gave strength and wisdom to the young statesman of New England, as he was called in a threatening hour from the pursuits of private life to the highest honors in the gift of the people, and enabled him to discharge his high duties with a dignity and fidelity and courage which made his administration illustrious, and enrolled his name among the noblest in our nation. And I have learned also that it is the veteran defenders of the faith of the great Democratic teacher, whose heavens are irradiated with a golden light, as their evening sun declines. I cannot despair when I remember that it is the memory of Jefferson and Madison and Jackson, which is enshrined in the hearts of my countrymen. I cannot complain that the timid and the short-sighted and the disappointed and the petulant find cause for their distresses—for I know that the high design must be accomplished. I cannot be dismayed, when I contemplate the present, for I find a light shining out of the past which illumines with ever-increasing brilliancy the pathway of our nation. Our sun shall not go down at noon. For above all the noise of party strife, amidst the trials of adversity, and the temptations of prosperity, that voice shall still be heard, which brought our fathers out of bondage, and taught the world that self-government is the foundation of popular intelligence, virtue and prosperity.

And, Fellow-Democrats, you who have come up here to pay homage to the memory of the illustrious founder of your party, I indeed rejoice with you that the faith of Jefferson is still your own. In the victories of the last half century, his words have inspired the contest. In the defeats, even our enemies have been compelled to praise him. As our Union has expanded at your hands, the glory has been his. As you have added State after State to the Confederation, you have but set new stars in his glittering coronet. As you have swept from existence a dividing line, which was but a declaration of sectional warfare, and a violation of the most sacred rights under the Constitution, you have but fulfilled his prophecy. As you have thrown wide open the doors of the temple of freedom, that all men might enter in, you have administered with honesty and fidelity the legacy which he bequeathed to a struggling world. As you have fought for religious liberty, his epitaph has been written on your banners. In recognizing the rights of the States under the Constitution which binds us together, you have never forgotten the corner stone which he laid at the foundation of the structure.

And when others claim the honors which through your fidelity have gathered around his name, when in the agony of long continued disaster, his enemies and yours would rally their broken forces with your own war-cry, and emulate you in praise of your great commander, be sure that your triumph is complete.

When they who are rending this Union with their sectional broils, who tear in sunder the flag of our country, who would make the faith of our fathers 'of none effect through their tradition'—when such as these profess to prophecy in the name of Jefferson, I imagine his august form rising in majestic rebuke—"I knew you not." If they would honor him, let them first be just to the State which gave him birth, to the spot in which his bones repose.

For so long as our Republic shall endure, so long as the stars and stripes float over the sea and over the land, so long as the guaranties of the Constitution shall all be fulfilled, so long as the rights of our citizens shall be protected throughout the length and breadth of our domain, the name of Jefferson shall live to reproach a noisy, and virulent, and ambitious philanthropy, and to bind in indissoluble bonds that great fraternity of which we are a part, and which, from North to South, from East to West, bears the high and honorable title of AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

The band then played "Hail Columbia," after which the benediction was pronounced by Rev. Mr. Allen, and the crowd dispersed.

## Banquet at Hamilton Hall.

At the conclusion of the exercises at Mechanic Hall a procession was immediately formed under the Chief Marshalship of Mr. Daniel B. Lord, and accompanied by the Salem Brass Band, marched to Hamilton Hall, Chestnut street. The hall was decorated in a tasteful and appropriate manner. The tables were laid for three hundred persons, and from the main table which stretched across the end of the hall there branched seven others. They were laden with the delicacies of the larder attached to the establishment of the celebrated caterer Mr. G. H. Wise. Upon the wall at the rear of the presiding officer two large American flags were draped to either side, and between their folds, and at the centre, there was suspended an engraving of Jefferson. The flags were united at the top by a national shield and above all were the words "Thomas Jefferson, Born April 2d, 1743." At a short distance upon the right there was an engraving of Washington, and on the left a portrait of Jackson. On the left wall there was a portrait of Buchanan, and at the centre opposite the chair another picture of Washington. Upon gilt crescents, around the hall the names of the Presidents were displayed, and from the chandelier to the walls there were festoons of red, white and blue in graceful design and arrangement. Hon. Joseph S. Cabot presided, and the following gentlemen acted as Vice Presidents; George Upton, Edward D. Kimball, William McMullen, Joseph S. Perkins, of Salem, Hon. Albert Currier, of Newburyport, Richard Ramsdell, John Carroll of Marblehead, and H. L. Durant of Lynn. Divine blessing was invoked by Rev. Mr. Allen, and due attention having been paid to the feast which had been wisely provided, the cloth was removed and the intellectual entertainment was introduced by Mr. Cabot.

## Speech of Hon. Joseph S. Cabot.

Gentlemen—Having the honor to be selected as the presiding officer on the present occasion the pleasant duty seems to devolve upon me of tendering to you a welcome. I rejoice to be a participant with you in this festival, to find myself here surrounded by men bound together by the ties of a common political faith, moved to a common purpose, actuated by a common sentiment, assembled to commemorate the birth of the bold promulgator, the able defender, and eloquent advocate of democratic principles, to celebrate the birth of THOMAS JEFFERSON, the great founder of the democratic party.

Under ordinary circumstances the birth of any one is, except to those immediately connected therewith, an event hardly of sufficient

importance to be worthy of any notice, for it seems to be the addition of but one individual the more to that innumerable multitude, ever changing and never for an instant remaining the same, that are, as it were on a pilgrimage constantly passing over the earth's surface. And yet when it happens, as it occasionally has, all down through the long line of past ages and as it will probably continue to occur all through the remote future, that some individual thus enters upon this stage of being, destined on his maturity to exercise a deep and powerful influence upon his Age and Country, and who, from the vigor of his intellect, the force of his genius, or the strength of his will, seems capable of even shaping and moulding events to his purposes, then the event loses what there is of triviality in its character and assumes proportions even of sublimity. It is such as these who are to be considered as the guiders and leaders of our race, and of these was he whose birth we commemorate.

Few men of any age have exercised so great or so permanent an influence upon their contemporaries and successors; few have so succeeded in stamping the imprint of their genius, and their principles, upon the government and institutions of their country as Thomas Jefferson, and there are but few whose birth is so worthy of commemoration, especially by those for whom his political teachings are the cardinal doctrines of their political faith.

With no peculiar advantages, except those derived from the powers with which nature had endowed him, born in comparative obscurity, in a colonial dependency of the British empire, it might at first seem that he was destined to pass a life not raised above the level of a respectable mediocrity, and yet he lived to see that colonial dependency as a member of that powerful confederacy, assume a foremost station among the independent nations of the earth, and himself in acknowledgement of his attainment and in reward of his public service elevated to its highest dignity.

We have come together then, gentlemen, to celebrate in the birth of Thomas Jefferson—that of the author of the Declaration of American Independence, of whose principles and the measures to which that declaration led he was the able advocate and unswerving defender—of one who materially assisted in severing the bonds of vassalage that held his country in subjection—of him who was among the founders of our republic—of the third President of the United States during whose administration of that great office, by his statesmanship and foresight in the acquisition of Louisiana an empire was added to the union, and an outlet for the products of the valley of the Mississippi secured to the commerce and markets of the world.

It is not my purpose, nor does it seem within my province to attempt the eulogy of Mr. Jefferson, indeed, if it were, already this day has his character been so faithfully delineated, his great public services enumerated, and his claims to the affections and gratitude of his countrymen so clearly vindicated that any further attempts seem superfluous and yet, I hope to be excused if I venture, for a few moments, to dwell upon one of the aspects in which his life and character may be viewed, as especially interesting to those of our own political organization.

Mr. Jefferson may justly be regarded as the founder of the democratic party, as the exponent of those political principles that obtained an ascendancy with the people at his elevation to the presidency, and that have since, with the exception of one or two brief intervals, down to the present time, continued to influence or control the measures and policy of the general government.

The cardinal principles of that party thus inaugurated and since repeatedly sanctioned by the people, by their votes, as derived from his teachings are, that all authority emanates from the people—that the government of the United States is a government of limited powers as defined by the constitution adopted by the states at their entrance into the confederacy—that all powers not expressly granted are withheld; and that in the exercise of these reserved powers each state is sovereign and independent—that as the people of each state, so the people of each territory when about to be established as a state, have the exclusive right to adopt such local government and domestic institutions as they may think required by their wants, free from any control or interference except that arising from the single restriction imposed by the constitution that requires that the government to be established shall be republican in form.

The democratic party demand that the general government in the exercise of the authority confided to it, shall in its domestic policy be administered so as “to promote the greatest good of the greatest number,” that is, the greatest good of the whole people, and that in its intercourse with foreign nations in the language of the illustrious Jackson “it shall ask for nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing that is wrong.”

The democratic party is the party of freedom desirous of extending the blessings of constitutional liberty to every nation capable of its enjoyment. It is, too, the party of progress, ready to adopt all constitutional means that tend to advance the national interest or to improve and ameliorate the condition of the people, whilst at the same time opposed to all rash innovations or measures of doubtful expe-

diency, it is the great conservative party of the country. The sympathies of the democratic party are not confined to the natives of our own country but are extended to all who here seek a home or an asylum, and it stands ready to receive into the communion of citizenship all, no matter of what nation originally, who are prepared to assume and fulfill its duties and responsibilities.

The Democratic party is the national party, its standard is the flag of the Union, its patriotism is confined to no fixed territorial limits or boundaries, but is expansive in its character and reaches not only to what is now, but to what shall hereafter become the extremest verge of the republic.

Such, gentlemen, is the Democratic Party and such are its principles, and it is only by a strict adherence to these principles, especially to that great doctrine of State's Rights, a doctrine that forbids all interference with the Government and institution of a State by the other States or General Government, and that secures to the people of the States the exclusive right of deciding upon their own State institutions and policy that the peace and harmony of the Confederacy can be maintained. X

Even from the commencement of its principles and the era of its foundation, a violent and powerful hostility to its principles and its success has been manifested by political organizations and combinations acting sometimes under one name, sometimes another, but all imbued with the same spirit, and actuated by the same motive. At present we see arrayed against it an unscrupulous combination, which, tho' composed of discordant materials, is in this united, that it seeks the overthrow of the Democracy—a combination whose only hope of success is in making itself sectional by uniting one section of the Union against another section of the Union, which, under the pretence of defending the claims of free labor, is ready to commit an encroachment upon the rights of many of the States by virtually denying to them a claim to a share in the territory acquired to the Union at the expense of the common blood and common treasure—which, under the specious guise of a morbid philanthropy in its zeal for what it calls the welfare of four or five millions blacks, seems utterly regardless of the peace and happiness of twenty-five millions of whites—which openly denies its obligation to a plain requirement of the constitution—which openly sets at naught a decision of the highest judicial tribunal, and which seems ready to adopt any means for the attainment of its object, no matter what, even though such should jeopardise the existence of the confederacy.

But efforts of such a character and for such a purpose must fail of success—the patriotism and good sense of the people alike forbid it.

We have no occasion to despair of the Republic—such attempts to overthrow the immutable principles and great truths that are the foundation of the Democratic party, and from which its ascendancy with the people results, must be as futile as the waves of ocean lashed into rage by the fierce storms of Winter, as they beat upon our iron-bound coast, to sweep away the rocky barriers that nature has created as a rampart against their fury. Let the Democracy preserve its integrity and seek in the teachings of its great founders for its rule of faith, let it maintain unimpaired its party organization and discipline, a discipline that while it allows a difference of opinion upon questions of expediency permits no departure from principle. Let it as of old bear upon its standard—"Union, harmony concession—everything for the cause, nothing for men," and then in the future as in the past continued evidence will be afforded of the truth of that announcement of Andrew Jackson, of that brave, that noble, that wise and just old man, who "though now dead yet speaketh to us," an announcement whose utterance by him rang like the sound of a trumpet through the land, "the constitution and the laws are supreme, and the Union is indissoluble."

Mr Cabot's remarks were frequently interrupted by applause, hearty and long continued. At the close three rousing cheers were given for the speaker.

Mr. Wm. B. Pike, of Salem, was introduced as toastmaster of the evening, and gave the following as the first regular sentiment—

*The American Democracy*—True to the principles laid down by Jefferson, and incorporated in the Constitution of the United States.

The President said that they had expected the pleasure of the company of Hon. BENJ. F. HALLETT, but that gentleman being engaged upon a capital trial in Boston, had been unable to attend. Dr. Loring having been called upon to represent Mr Hallett, responded by expressing his inability to discharge satisfactorily so difficult a duty, and after complimenting Mr H. as one of the tried standard bearers of the party, read the following able and beautiful letter:—

*Boston, March 31, 1859.*

GENTLEMEN:—

The professional duties of counsel in a capital trial just commenced in the circuit court, compel me to relinquish the pleasure I had anticipated of being present at your well timed festival in honor of the birthday of Jefferson.

It was said, many years ago, by one of his biographers, that it was the fate of Thomas Jefferson to be at once more loved and praised by his friends, and more hated and reviled by his enemies, than any of his compatriots.

That was true in his lifetime. At his death all statesmen, all parties all mankind united in canon-

izing his virtues. But now, and what perhaps most of all endangers his fame, in thirty-three years after his decease, his worst enemies, because they are the worst enemies of the union, attempt to claim him as the apostle of their creed of Liberty without law, because he was the great apostle of civil and religious freedom, regulated by law. You do well therefore, on this day, to rescue his memory from such unhallowed uses.

It was the fate of Mr. Jefferson during his lifetime, to be misrepresented as to his principles of popular government. It is his fate after his death, to be misrepresented as to his opinions upon the duties of the states to each other, and to the union under the constitution.

I have not time, nor is a letter a proper medium, to enter into an exposition of the relations of the democratic party to Mr. Jefferson, from the first division of parties in the federal union, to the present.

But if I were called upon to name the one discriminating principle which has guided him and them from the foundation of that American Independence which he first embodied in his grand declaration and which has marked the broadest and most enduring line between the two policies that have divided the statesmen and the parties of the country, I should find it in that comprehensive policy, inaugurated by Jefferson, of the extension of the territory, and the increase of the states of this union.

We owe to him more than to any one man, but in common with other statesmen the democratic and at the same time conservative elements of our republican form of government. But we owe to him almost alone, the extension of the territory of the republic.

Democracy, as developed by Jefferson, was the problem of man's capacity for self government. It sought first the largest individual liberty consistent with well ordered government. That was the republic within the state. It then applied a larger principle of union in a general government of delegated powers from the states, and yet conserving the equal rights of each of the states. Reaching beyond this it sought for a still more enlarged and comprehensive policy that should go onward progressively, extending territory and increasing states to cover the whole continent with commonwealths, each independent within its own sphere, and all united in a general government, supreme only in the limited and certain powers conceded by the states.

This policy required absolute political equality of the new with the old states, and absolute equality of all the states in all newly acquired territory. This was the comprehensive policy of Jefferson from the beginning. That is the comprehensive policy of the democratic party now, and that is the only governmental relation to slavery which they hold under the constitution, as a national party.

On no other principle could the thirteen original states have now become thirty-three.

All our history shows that the democratic party were with Mr. Jefferson in the initiation of this grand policy of American republican empire. His and their opponents resisted it; and the slavery element, in the new states and territories which congress had no right to meddle with, has always been the pretext for that resistance.

The federal statesmen of his time, no doubt honestly, feared the extension of territory and the addition of distant states as fatal to the republic. But all the obstructions to the enlargement of the U. States have, from the beginning, come from the party opposed to Mr. Jefferson and to democracy.

This was the marked dividing line between parties in 1800, and it is equally marked in dividing them now. It was Louisiana then. It has since been Florida, Texas, Oregon, California, New Mexico, and it is Cuba now.

All the New England statesmen of Jefferson's time not of his party, resisted the extension of territory and the increase of state.. In 1796 they opposed the admission of the first new state formed out of territory ceded to the United States, Tennessee; alleging that it was because she held slaves. But in 1802 they resisted the admission of Ohio, though a free state, formed by the liberal endowment of Virginia out of the north western territory because as they then said, it would depopulate New England and carry power from the Atlantic to the west.

And because Mr. Jefferson approved the ordinance of 1787, framed under the confederation, and before the constitution had formed the union, it is assumed by modern sectional "republicans," that he was a sectionalist. They forget that it was the beloved state of Jefferson, standing at the head of the slaveholding states, then a majority in the confederation, Virginia, that was the granting party to that noble gift and compact of cession to the north. Nor do they choose to remember that in that same ordinance the statesmen who made it, wisely comprehending the adoption of the territory solely to free labor, carefully preserved the rights of the south to reclaim from that territory all fugitives from service. A strange paternity indeed, for those who resist unto blood and disunion, that Jeffersonian compact of good faith between the states since engrafted into the constitution; and who now use all their power in legislatures to nullify the constitution and laws of the union, which they have sworn to support and maintain.

Now if any young man is desirous of knowing to what party Thomas Jefferson belongs, and to what policy he himself owes the honor of being a citizen of these United States as they now are, second in power to no nation of the earth, and superior in good governments and private rights over all; let him take the map of North America and cross off the accessions of territory and states made by the Jeffersonian democratic policy since 1802; before Louisiana, Florida, Texas and California were ours. See British America stretching across the continent from Nova Scotia to the Pacific Ocean, from Newfoundland to the Russian settlements, from Davis Strait to the Arctic. See the very back bone of the United States broken—all west from the mouth of the Mississippi to Lake Superior, Louisiana, Florida and Texas, resting on the Gulf of Mexico south, not our sister states, and our marts of free commerce, but colonies or dependencies of Great Britain; for if Jefferson had not made the treaty with Napoleon, Louisiana would have been, in ninety days after, the conquest of England, with her fleet then on the way to wrest it from France. Florida too, would have fallen from the feeble hands of Spain to England. Texas, if rejected, would have become her dependant or ally. Oregon would have been a parcel of the new "Victoria" to be formed out of the vast possessions of the Hudson Bay Company. Mexico would have retained the golden California still a desert, and not a stripe of the American flag would have touched the endless shores of the Pacific or the waters of the Gulf of Mexico.

Who would now wish to be an American with such a narrow heritage, bound within the folds of an overshadowing British Empire in North America? Or that other alternative of a great southern confederation of republics, comprising all this rejected territory with Mexico, and Central America,



and guided by the indomitable statesmanship of our own revolutionary race, controlling the markets and the industry of the world, by holding the great staples of that industry in their hands?

And that is not so, we owe it to the large policy of Jefferson and his Democratic compatriots. There is the history. Read it. In 1802 Spain owned Louisiana, and we had a poor treaty with her for the right to deposit American goods to New Orleans. Spain broke the treaty and forbid the deposit. President Jefferson demanded redress, and was answered that Spain had ceded Louisiana to France. Napoleon had no navy to protect it, and England was about to dispatch her fleets for its conquest. Thus the purchase of Louisiana from France was the only measure to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi.

Jefferson took the responsibility for posterity and achieved it. On the 28th of October, 1803, ANDREW JACKSON, a Senator from that same Tennessee which New England had refused to admit into the Union, rose in the Senate of the United States, and moved that the Senate do advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty made at Paris, April 30th, 1803, between the United States and the French Republic, by Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe, and Barbi Marbois. "New England Statesmen and New England politicians opposed to Jefferson, all opposed it." What, they exclaimed, pay fifteen millions for a place of deposit for Western produce? This is indeed insufferable! Why, if they have that our New England lands will become a desert from the contagion of emigration. And then they fell to ridiculing Mr Jefferson and his "Salt Mountain" in Missouri. Why, if logic, like malleable glass, were not among the lost arts, we might wonder a little that the *dead* Jefferson should be now claimed by a party whose *living* Patriarch here in Massachusetts, the venerable Josiah Quincy, stood at the head of opposition to that grand Jeffersonian policy of extension, with or without slavery, when he moved in Congress the impeachment of Thomas Jefferson for purchasing Louisiana! And who again, when Louisiana asked to be admitted a State with her slave population, declared in his place (January 15, 1811)—"if this bill passes it is virtually a dissolution of the Union; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare for a separation, peaceably if they can forcibly if they must." Then it was that first rose the sectional cry of "no more slave states," and so it has gone on ever since, until the cry is no more free states without negro suffrage and negro equality! And thus we trace down the dividing line between Jefferson and sectionalism, until we find the now miscalled "republican" party, doing just what the opponents of Mr. Jefferson did in 1802, when they voted against the admission of free Ohio, viz: voting against the admission of free Oregon because she will not consent to absorb the negro race in her body politic. And this they do upon the avowed doctrine that Congress has the power to make or amend Constitutions for the new states and for territories, so as to regulate the political status and condition of their inhabitants.

Now, that was the very heresy in the Federal Government most denounced by Mr. Jefferson, touching the power of congress to limit the sovereignty of Missouri in 1821. "The real question," said he, in his letter to John Adams, is—"are our slaves to be presented with freedom and a dagger? for if Congress has the power to regulate the condition of the inhabitants of States, it will be but another exercise of that power to declare that all shall be free."

And this heresy so denounced by Jefferson, is the precise doctrine to-day, of Mr. Seward's "irrepressible conflict" to make all free or all slave States.

He who moves a step in that direction, travels farther and farther from Jefferson. Why the only event that ever raised a doubt in the mind of that calm philosopher of the perpetuity of the Union, was the attempt made by the North in the Missouri controversy to draw a section line between the free and slave states. "Like a fire bell in the night it awakened and filled him with terror." From the battle of Bunker Hill to the Treaty of Paris, said he, we never had so ominous a question—a geographical line, drawn in the opposing moral and political views of sectional parties, and held up to the angry passions of men with every local irritation to make it deeper and deeper, until it should become the line of separation of the states. And this idea, once suggested, would brood in the minds of all those who prefer the gratification of their ungovernable passions to the peace and union of the country. The old schism of federalists and republicans threatened nothing like this, because it existed in every state, and united them by the fraternization of party. But this sectional division of parties on geographical lines was a blow at the grand experiment in America which is to decide whether man is capable of self-government. Nay, it was treason against human hope.

Such were the best considered views of the illustrious sage in the calmness of his retreat, and near the close of that grand life which he had given to his country. And these warnings and rebukes, then so solemn and momentous, to whom and to what do they now apply, with renewed force, but to the leaders and the purposes of that sectional party of to-day, calling itself "republican," and yet aiming to shatter the republic into angry, disjointed and hostile confederations, on either side of a geographical line?

If they indeed respect and venerate Thomas Jefferson, let them heed the admonition that comes to them from him, as if uttered but yesterday.

"Would they," said he, "but weigh the blessings they will throw away by disunion, against an abstract principle more likely to be effected by union than by secession, they would pause before perpetrating this act of suicide on themselves, and of treason against the hopes of the world." And still more suggestive of the present, among his last words ever uttered were "the hope that the mass of his honest brethren of the northern states would discover the use designing men were making of their best feelings, and see the precipice to which they are led, before they take the final leap."

These are the lessons of wisdom and of warning to his countrymen which come down to our time, and, as if a special legacy, to the young men of America, from the great statesman whose advent as the Apostle of Freedom under Government, of Liberty within Law, you to day commemorate.

Taking these principles of popular government and to an united Republic of independent and expanding States for their guide, the party which has nearest followed the teachings of Thomas Jefferson has never failed and never can fail to be the party of Union, of State Rights and of national greatness; and no party, class or section repudiating them, in their relations to the whole country, can justly claim to be either Jeffersonian, National Democratic or Republican. I have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

B. F. HALLETT.

To the Committee of Arrangements.

Second sentiment,—

*Virginia*—The Mother of the States; the home of Jefferson.

The following letter from the Governor of Virginia, Hon. H. A. WISE, was read amid applause :—

RICHMOND, Va., March 20, 1859.

Gentlemen—I am happy to see the spirit of Democracy rise up in old Essex, of Massachusetts, to celebrate the birth-day of Thomas Jefferson. His tomb has inscribed upon it his best eulogy. He wrote the Declaration of Independence—was the author of the Act of Religious Freedom, and was the Founder of the University of Virginia. But this is no epitome of his benefactions to mankind; it was all there was room for on a grave. His life was a library of useful knowledge, and a long series of actions, most efficient and practical in politics—the results of which this nation and the world have felt and are now witnessing, I hope, for great good. He knew how to govern what we had, and to acquire more, in peace and in good faith. He was the great equalizer and leveler of his day, but he levelled upwards. His democracy exalted mankind, for he loved letters and law, and the people and the public good. He was morally and politically brave, as well as politic and prudent, and his success proved his sagacity to be sharpened in part by his courage. He was a student of measures more than of theories, and originated more practical plans of administration than any other man, except the first President, under whom he assisted the first and foundation policy of the United States—the policy of Peace with Foreign nations.

The Great Apostle of Liberty—"Louisiana and Peace" ought to be added to his epitaph.

Yours, truly, HENRY A. WISE.  
Wm. B. Pike, &c., Committee.

Third sentiment ;—

*Our Sister States*—We know no east, no west, no north, no south.

The president in response to this toast read the following sound and eloquent letter received from Hon. JEFFERSON DAVIS :—

WASHINGTON, March 14, 1859.

Gentlemen—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind invitation to meet the democrats of Essex county, Mass., and to unite with them in celebrating the birthday of Thomas Jefferson.

Fully concurring with you as to the propriety of commemorating an event which gave to our country the author of the Declaration of Independence, the great Apostle of American Democracy, and expounder of religious liberty, I regret that it will not be in my power to be with you as invited.

It is fortunate for our country that its early history presents examples of patriotism, wisdom and virtue, which serve as guiding stars to posterity; more fortunate still that they have left us an imperishable record of opinions so verified by experience as to seem almost the result of inspiration, to which in all times of confusion we can turn as to a light which leads us to the original and just understanding of our political institutions.

If in the progress of events the mind of any one should be dazzled by the splendor of our national greatness, and be made forgetful of the sovereignty of the states, he has but to turn to the writings of Jefferson to find the purpose, and the theory on which the states were united.

Or if a mind of different character, in the securi-

ty and repose afforded by the shield of a united people, should forget the necessity of co-operation, and to exalt the individual dignity of the states, should seek to paralyze the arm of the general government, in the same and cotermporaneous texts, it will find the necessity of the ligament which binds it together, and learn to realize how much the steadiness of our step depends upon the support of a hand, the presence of which can only be unheeded, because the want of it has not been felt by this, our prosperous generation.

I hail with pleasure this indication that my brother democrats of Massachusetts are aroused to the necessity of counteracting the baneful influences of the hour, and are seeking to recall the popular mind from the pursuit of speculative pseudo philanthropy, to the contemplation of historical truth.

Though there is much in the present circumstances of our country to create apprehension, we should not yet despair of the republic. Our government, resting on the consent of the governed, has no such liability to be overthrown as belongs to those which, lifted above the people, reel at their giddy height, and stand upon pillars embraced by Sampsons who have only to will it in order to tear them away. With us the people are the government, restrained by limitations imposed by themselves and for themselves. To make war upon the government, then, would be suicidal, and cannot be anticipated until madness and venality have usurped the seats of reason, and virtue. Therefore, my friends, in the darkest hour I have been hopeful, have stood as I now stand, expectant of that reaction which the country needs, and which for its peace, its honor, and its progress, has already been too long delayed.

Again thanking you for your kind consideration, I am, very respectfully and truly, your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Messrs Geo. B. Loring and others.

The fourth sentiment was—"The President of the United States." [Loud cheering.]

Dr Loring said that Hon. ISAAC DAVIS who was expected to respond, had been prevented from attending by the death of a near relative; & that he would read the following letters from the Vice President and distinguished members of the Cabinet. He paid glowing compliments to these statesmen, the mention of whose names was enthusiastically received; and congratulated this country that its destinies were guided by the veteran leader of the democratic party, aided by the high ability which he had called into his Council. The letter from the Vice President is as follows :—

WASHINGTON CITY, March 12, 1859.

DEAR SIR—I thank you for your friendly letter urging me to be present at the celebration of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, to take place at Salem on the first of April. I cordially sympathise with the movement, but it will be impossible for me to attend; nor can I send you a letter for publication, as I am in the midst of preparations for immediate departure from Washington, and have scarcely time to turn about. Please accept this apology, and believe me,

Yours truly,

JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE.

To Wm. B. Pike, Esq., Chairman Com. of Arrangts.



The following letter from Hon. Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, was next read:—

WASHINGTON CITY, March 19, 1859.

GENTLEMEN—It is in no spirit of mere formality, that I express my regret in not being able to attend your proposed celebration of the birthday of Jefferson.

I should be gratified to visit your state, and form a more extended acquaintance with that portion of your people who profess the doctrines and seek to enforce the principles of constitutional liberty taught by the great Apostle of American freedom.

It would give me pleasure to join the patriotic sons of New England in renewing our common vows of fealty to the Constitution and the Union, which Jefferson labored hard to establish and perpetuate. It is not only a duty but a pleasure you propose to discharge—and I can only repeat the regret I feel in being obliged by public engagements to deny myself the privilege of being present to participate in them.

Allow me to offer you the following sentiment for the occasion:—

The constitutional principles taught by Thomas Jefferson—May our descendants be able to add to the sentiment—"and practiced by our fathers." Yours, very respectfully,

HOWELL COBB.

Messrs G. B. Loring, Wm. B. Pike, George Upton, and others, Com. of Arrangements.

The following letter was read from Hon. J. B. Floyd:—

WASHINGTON, March 25, 1859.

Gentlemen—I regret to say that the nature of my official engagements at this time, puts it out of my power to accept your invitation to participate in the celebration of Thomas Jefferson's birth day, at Salem, on the 1st of April.

Thanking you, however, for your courtesy and attention, I am, gentlemen, very truly,

Yours, JOHN B. FLOYD.

Messrs Wm. B. Pike, and others, Committee of Arrangements.

Fifth sentiment—

*The State of Maine*—May she again be what she once was, the star that never sets.

Col. J. M. Adams, Editor of the Portland Argus, responded briefly. To his mind Jefferson was the perfect type of Democracy, and his memory should ever be held in deep veneration by the recipients of the blessings of that government for the secure establishment and perpetuity of which he so patriotically and fearlessly labored. He expressed his thanks for the complimentary manner in which the State of Maine had been alluded to, and tho't she now stood in a false position before the country. The day was not far distant when she would stand right.

The following letter from Hon. Bion Bradbury was then read:—

EASTPORT, ME., March 24, 1859.

Gentlemen:—I have the pleasure to acknowledge your kind remembrance, in the invitation I have received, to be present at the celebration of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson at Salem, on the first of April next.

The commemoration of this event is fit and opportune.

Jefferson was the greatest political philosopher of his age, as well as its most sagacious practical statesmen.

He regarded the American system as embodying the true idea of government—not absolutely perfect, but as near perfection as can be reached by mortals—and the union of the states as the sheet-anchor of that system.

When, in his retirement at Monticello, he was watching with anxious eyes, the progress of the great experiment of self-government, planned by himself and his coadjutors, he was filled with apprehension by the danger which threatened its success from the formation of *geographical parties*. If the agitation of the slavery question, which resulted in the Missouri compromise, came upon his ears "like a fire-bell in the night," and seemed to him the "knell of the Union," how would he now tremble for its safety when the formation of a geographical party is openly proposed for the purpose of taking possession of the government and a great statesman publicly avows the doctrine that free and slave states cannot co-exist under the constitution.

The consideration of the wise teachings and union-loving example of the immortal author of the Declaration of Independence can but serve to quicken the patriotism of the nation and assuage that spirit of sectional jealousy and rancor which has of late made such fearful progress in the popular mind.

I regret that I cannot be present upon an occasion of so much interest. With great respect, your obedient servant,

BION BRADBURY.

Wm. B. Pike, Esq., and others Com. of Arr.

The President read this sentiment, offered by Wm. D. Chamberlain, Esq., of Lynn;—

*Massachusetts, the early defender of the immortal Jefferson*—May she soon be found in the front rank of his political worshippers, in the true democratic sense.

Dr. Loring said that it seemed indeed hard for a democrat to respond in these days to such a sentiment. Massachusetts has long since forgotten her early love. But to show how warm a democratic heart still beats within her borders, and that the faith of Jefferson was not wholly forgotten he would here read the following letters from some of her truest sons. He was sorry to say that legislative duties had prevented Gens. CUSHING and BUTLER from fulfilling an engagement to be present on the occasion, but he knew that every democrat would forego the pleasure of listening to these able advocates of democracy, the more cheerfully, when he felt that they were sustaining the constitution and the laws against the republican force of the Massachusetts legislature. The duty which kept them away, was that which they owed to the people, who stand superior to

all party requirements. He read the following letters:—

SPRINGFIELD, March 21, 1859.

My Dear Sir:—I have received your polite invitation to take part in the celebration of Jefferson's birthday, at Salem, on the 2d proximo. I assure you it would give me great pleasure to accept that invitation, but my engagements are such, that I cannot reasonably hope to be with you on that occasion.

Permit me to add, that in my judgment, we have reached a time when every patriotic citizen of our republic is emphatically called upon, to seize every fitting opportunity to re-awaken the sentiments, and to revive the teachings of those eminent men who laid the foundation of our governmental institutions.

Your proposed celebration of the birthday of that great apostle of civil and religious liberty whose political principles have ever been recognized as cardinal doctrines by the democratic party, and whose teachings that party have so long followed, as a safe guide in political action, will offer an inviting occasion to renew and revive that patriotic devotion to our whole country as at present united, which the signs of the times invest with pre-eminent importance.

Commending then your attempt to do something by your celebration, to re-construct, and to keep alive in Massachusetts a healthy political sentiment by looking as patriots, and not as mere partizans, to the record of our fathers,

I am with great respect your obd't servant.

JAMES S. WHITNEY.

W. B. Pike, Esq, Chairman of Com. of Arr.

GT. BARRINGTON, March 29th, 1859.

Dear Sir:—I regret that I cannot participate with the democrats of Salem and vicinity in celebrating the birth day of Jefferson. The demonstration proposed has a peculiar appropriateness now, when the opponents of democracy so strikingly answer the description which was given of the Federalists in 1820, by the statesman whose name and virtues you would aid to perpetuate. Said Jefferson in the turbulent time to which I have alluded, "They" the Federalists "are taking advantage of the virtuous feelings of the people, to effect a division of parties by a geographical line; they expect that this will insure them, on local principles, the majority they could never obtain on principles of Federalism. They are wasting Jeremiahs on the miseries of slavery, as if we were advocates for it." "It is not a moral question, but one merely of power. Its object is to raise a geographical principle for the choice of a President, and the noise will be kept up till that is effected. It is a ladder for rivals climbing to power."

That was true of the Federalists in 1820, is true of the opponents of the democracy in 1859, and the same factious spirit which the fathers of democracy discovered and fought against remains to be encountered and subdued I trust, by the sons.

With hearty concurrence in the object of the occasion, I remain, respectfully yours,

SAMUEL B. SUMNER.

John A. Currin, Esq, Sec. of Com.

GREENFIELD, March 29th, 1859.

Gentlemen:—Your favor of the 4th Instant, inviting me to be present at Salem, on the first of April and to join in celebrating the birth of Thomas Jefferson was duly received. I have delayed a reply, hoping to be able to accept the invitation, but I find that engagements in the court, whose session has

been protracted beyond my expectation, and will continue through the entire week, will require my presence here on the day of your celebration. I regret this extremely, as nothing would afford me more pleasure than to unite with the democrats of Essex in commemorating the birth of the great apostle of American democracy.

Cordially approving the object of your proposed celebration, and with sentiments of high respect for you personally,

Gentlemen, I have the honor to be your most obd't. servant.

SAMUEL O. LAMB.

John A. Currin, Sec. and others, Com. of Arr.

STOCKBRIDGE, March 26, 1859.

My Dear Sir:—Yours of the 21st inviting me to be present at the celebration of the birth day of Jefferson has this moment been received. To yourself and the committee I am under obligations for the invitation. I shall be with you that day certainly in spirit, and shall use every exertion to be there in body.

I am very respectfully, your most obd't. servant,

J. E. FIELDS.

John Currin, Esq., Sec.

Richard Ramsdell of Marblehead, in response to a call from the chair, made a few remarks, closing with:

*Acquisition of Cuba*—Peaceably if we can; at any rate, Cuba.

Mr. Cabot gave:

Our Adopted Citizens.

Dr. Loring read the following sentiment from Mr Thomas Looby:

*Black Republican Consistency*—In celebrating the birthday of Jefferson, who, in his first inaugural address, uttered the immortal sentiment, that we should entertain a due sense of the equal right of all, to honor and confidence, from considerations not resulting from birth or condition, but from actions and a high sense of the privileges enjoyed; and that equal and exact justice should be rendered to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, political or religious.

Mr. Cabot read:

*New Hampshire*—The New England State in which the country found a faithful and illustrious President.

Dr. Loring in response, spoke of the administration of President Pierce, as one in which the great principle of self-government laid down by Jefferson, was ably and fearlessly carried into operation. He felt proud of the distinction which had thus fallen upon New England; and he knew that among all our citizens, at home and abroad, there was no one, whose heart was more truly with them, than his who under the soft skies of Southern Italy, never forgot his obligations to his own land, and always bore in warm remembrance the memory of those illustrious men, whose principles had guided him in his career of greatness.

He regretted that no son of New Hampshire was present. Sidney Webster Esq. was in the hands of a physician, who had forbidden his leaving his room, and he assured the audience that that physician had shut off as good a

democratic speech as had ever been listened to. In the absence of Mr. Webster, he would repeat the words of other true democratic sons of New Hampshire, and he read the following letters :

EXETER, N. H. March 30, 1859.

Gentlemen:—I thank you for the kind invitation to attend the celebration of the birthday of Jefferson, but my engagements are such that I cannot do so without great inconvenience. It is the pride of every civilized country to refer to their great and good men who have, by purity of life, by brilliant genius, by intellectual strength, and bravery upon the battle field, and by patriotism and statesmanship renowned the countries of their birth. Such men are like majestic head-lands or towering landmarks which guide the wanderers from afar, and around which centre the interest and admiration of all. They are the great links in the extended chain of human events, which happily unite the different periods of existence, and they will continue to be the distinguished of earth, until christianity shall lose its interest, and science, genius, learning and patriotism cease to be honored and respected. Such men seem to have been created for particular occasions. Moses was the man to guide the ancient captives, Paul of Tarsus to urge forward that faith which was renewed beneath the splendor of the star of Bethlehem, Cæsar to lead the Roman legions, Cicero to impress the minds of his countrymen with the principles which then controlled the civilized world, Cromwell to guide his countrymen through turmoil and national distractions, Martin Luther to generate and push forward the religious reformation of his time, Napoleon Bonaparte to unsettle the concentration of political power by the claims of divinity, Washington to guide the American army through the trying scenes of the revolution, Jackson to rescue popular rights from the control of combined wealth, and political corruption, and Jefferson to impress upon the minds of the founders of this republic, and the democratic masses of this nation, the genuine doctrines of a republican government.

The leading idea which Jefferson advocated before and at the time of the formation of the American Union, was the capacity and ability of the American people for self-government. Many doubted and strongly opposed his theory to the extent he claimed, but opposition only gave renewed vigor to his arguments, which resulted in placing the ballot in nearly every man's hand, with freedom of action, only to be controlled by a written constitution. And it is well, especially at this day, when such extraordinary efforts are in operation to influence the action of the ballot by prejudice, bigotry, sectionalism, and fanaticism, to re-examine the faith and principles of that great American statesman, and if possible to impress upon the public mind an accurate and definite idea of the true principles of our government, which he and the other founders of this republic advocated and sustained. That this nation can long continue a united and prosperous people sectionally hostile to each other, increasing as it does day by day, is certainly impossible. Admitted or legally determined constitutional rights of men, or of states, should be universally acquiesced in, until modified by an amendment of the organic law, and upon questions of expediency unless there is to be some time when we are to have some fixed, definite, and settled political and governmental doctrines and principles, time will only find us a distracted and contentious people instead of an orderly progressive law-abiding constitution-

ally governed nation. Thus far the democratic sentiment has controlled, and my faith in the future success of its doctrines is yet unimpaired; and I cannot believe that New England so deeply interested in the perpetuity of this union, and so extensively connected in the business and social relations of every portion of the republic, can long be deluded and controlled by the false and fatal doctrines which now guide and direct her. And if your celebration shall tend as I trust it will to correct public sentiment in violation to these matters you will be justly entitled to the thanks of every true national man.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

JOHN S. WELLS.

Dr. Geo. B. Loring and others, Committee.

BATH, N. H., March 14th, 1859.

My Dear Sir:—I am sorry that engagements about home, together with poor health, will prevent my being with you on the occasion of the birth day of Jefferson.

The subject is indeed grand, and the whole affair would be of a kind most agreeable to me.

Accept my thanks for the kindness which has prompted your invitation, and be assured that I am most sincerely yours,

H. HUBBARD.

Wm. B. Pike, Esq. Chairman Com. of Arr.

W. B. Pike Esq. in response to a call gave :

Thomas Jefferson—Great among great men, and a right use of that greatness, in the cause of humanity, made him great in the hearts of the people.

The President retired, and Mr. Pike took the chair, and gave :

Hon. J. S. Cabot, President of the Day—the eminent merchant, the consistent and unwavering democrat, the sound statesman.

Capt. Charles Upton, in response to a call, spoke most eloquently and practically in defense of the gunboat system, as one of the most powerful engines in modern warfare : and he gave :

Our country—right or wrong—still our country.

Mr. Pike read :

Cuba—We trust soon to hail the day when the stars and stripes shall wave in triumph over the vine-clad hills and fertile valleys of one of Columbia's fairest isles.

Charles P. Thompson of Gloucester responded.

The following sentiment by John A. Currin was read :

The Orator of the Day—A true representative of the Young Democracy.

Dr. Loring replied that he rose "for the first time to-day," to respond to the sentiment which had been aimed at him. He defended the choice of the day selected by the committee of arrangements, and complimented them, that each man had performed his part well. The enthusiasm which had been manifested, the encouragement they had met with from the party in the country, the eloquent letters which had been read, a band of true men marching

through our streets as the followers of Jefferson, all indicated that the democracy was still true to its founder. He hoped he should never grow old in such a cause, and he felt that perennial vigor belonged to those who sustained the unfading principles of the Constitution as taught by Jefferson. Our opponents, he said, may endeavor to pervert those principles and wrest them from us, but they would always find themselves as they were in the celebration of the birthday of Jefferson eleven days behind his faithful and consistent admirers. He wanted no "new style" for the patriot and sage, whose memory they had met to celebrate, and he left it for others to modernize and abolitionize the day of his birth, as they were endeavoring to modernize and abolitionize his record and his doctrines.

Capt. Chas. Upton gave the following quoted toast ;

An American always kneels only to his God, and with his face to the enemy.

By Norman Story of Essex ;

Those clergymen who preach Fremont politics—May their days be few and others take their office.

By R. Ramsdell, of Marblehead.

The Clergy—While armed with the sword of the Spirit, may they always wield it in the cause of religious liberty.

Mr. Edward Foley sang "Red, White and Blue."

By. R. Ramsdell.

The Ladies—At all times and on all occasions we regard them as our choicest luxuries.

By Henry Derby.

Elbridge Gerry, the patriot statesman, and Wm. Gray the patriot merchant—The exponents and representatives of the Jeffersonian democracy. All honor to their memories. Massachusetts was honored in the election of these gentlemen to the first offices in the state in 1810.

Wm. H. Burbeck sang "Nine cheers for the girls we love."

Jona. H. Orne of Marblehead responded to a call, and made a short speech, in which he said Marblehead had given seven or eight hundred votes for Jefferson to thirty or forty for his opponent.

Nathan Clark Esq., of Lynn having been called upon, made the following graceful and appropriate response. He said ;—

Mr. President:—I came here not for the purpose of saying anything myself, but to listen to the utterance of others—the veterans and leaders of the democracy, whose faithful and eminent service in behalf of democratic principles renders it peculiarly appropriate that their voices should be heard on an occasion like this, instituted in commemoration of the great apostle and founder of those principles.

Listening to the utterances of these to-day, I feel that I have been led to a still greater appreciation of that wonderful character which has stamped its

impress so ineffacably upon the policy and institutions of our country.

And not only have I been inspired with a deeper reverence for the character of Jefferson, but with a deeper devotion to that great political party which for more than half a century has upheld the principles and perpetuated the policy which he inaugurated.

I am impelled by this feeling to express the hope that each return of this day may witness all over our land, gatherings of the democracy similar to this in which we have joined to-day, and that this anniversary may thus become sacred in the annals of the democratic party.

By J. J. Dalrymple :—

The memory of Jefferson, and the union of the United States—may they be as enduring as time and as lasting as eternity.

Samuel Whittemore gave—

Thos. Jefferson—Though dead, his memory yet lives in the hearts of the people.

By J. M. Adams of Portland—

The Democrats of Massachusetts—Firm, able and indefatigable in support of true Democratic principles. They have richly deserved success ; may they soon obtain it.

By Capt C. H. Manning, of the Light Artillery—

The Volunteer Soldiers of the Republic, who waved our banners in triumph over all the ramparts of Mexico—may our eagles once more build their nests in her mountain heights, and drive from her plains the vultures that now prey on the state, that the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy may illumine the Land.

By John Ryan, Esq.—

The Union of States—the union of hearts, the union of hands—the flag of our Union forever.

By W. G. Munroe of Lynn—

Jefferson, Jackson and Buchanan, the great triumvirate of a constitutional Democracy—Traduced and reviled for their official acts in life by a bigoted and partizan opposition, history has, and ever will, do honor and justice to their names and memories as true friends to an extended, united and harmonious confederacy.

Mr. Pike read—

The Caterer of the Evening—May he always be as liberal as he has been *wise* this evening.

Wm. H. Burbeck sang "Big Plum Pudding."

By Geo. R. Mason—

Enemies of the Administration of Thomas Jefferson—Grandfathers of the enemies of the present Administration.

By J. H. Stacy of Gloucester.

The principles of Jefferson form the platform of the National Democrats of old Essex county. We defy the devil to get us off if he can.

By E. C. Peabody, Esq.—

The natural tendency of the Republic—The whole continent and the adjacent islands.

Mr. Edward Foley sang "Magic Mouth."

By Col. Moses Tarr of Gloucester—

The President of the United States.

By Capt. C. H. Manning.

The Flag of our Country, may its glittering stars, and field of blue, be frozen to the very top of the north pole, while its waving stripes flap on the waters of Cape Horn.

By Capt. D. B. Lord.

The American Democracy—Still true to the principles of Jefferson.

By Thomas Kinsley—

The Thirty-three States—May they be peopled by Democrats in sufficient numbers to overpower the black Republicans.

By G. L. Chesbro of Gloucester.

The memory of Jackson—May it long be cherished by every American citizen.

By William T. Fowler.

Why is Pike's Peak like the Salem Custom House? Because we have a Pike peaking around us.

By Charles Estes of South Danvers.

The State of Maine—Once the Star in the East—Temporarily obscured by clouds, may it be only to emerge in greater splendor.

The following from Hon. J. W. Proctor was read.

•It is glory enough for any man, when associated with John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, to have been admitted by them as their superior. This is true of Thomas Jefferson.

By George W. Kenny.

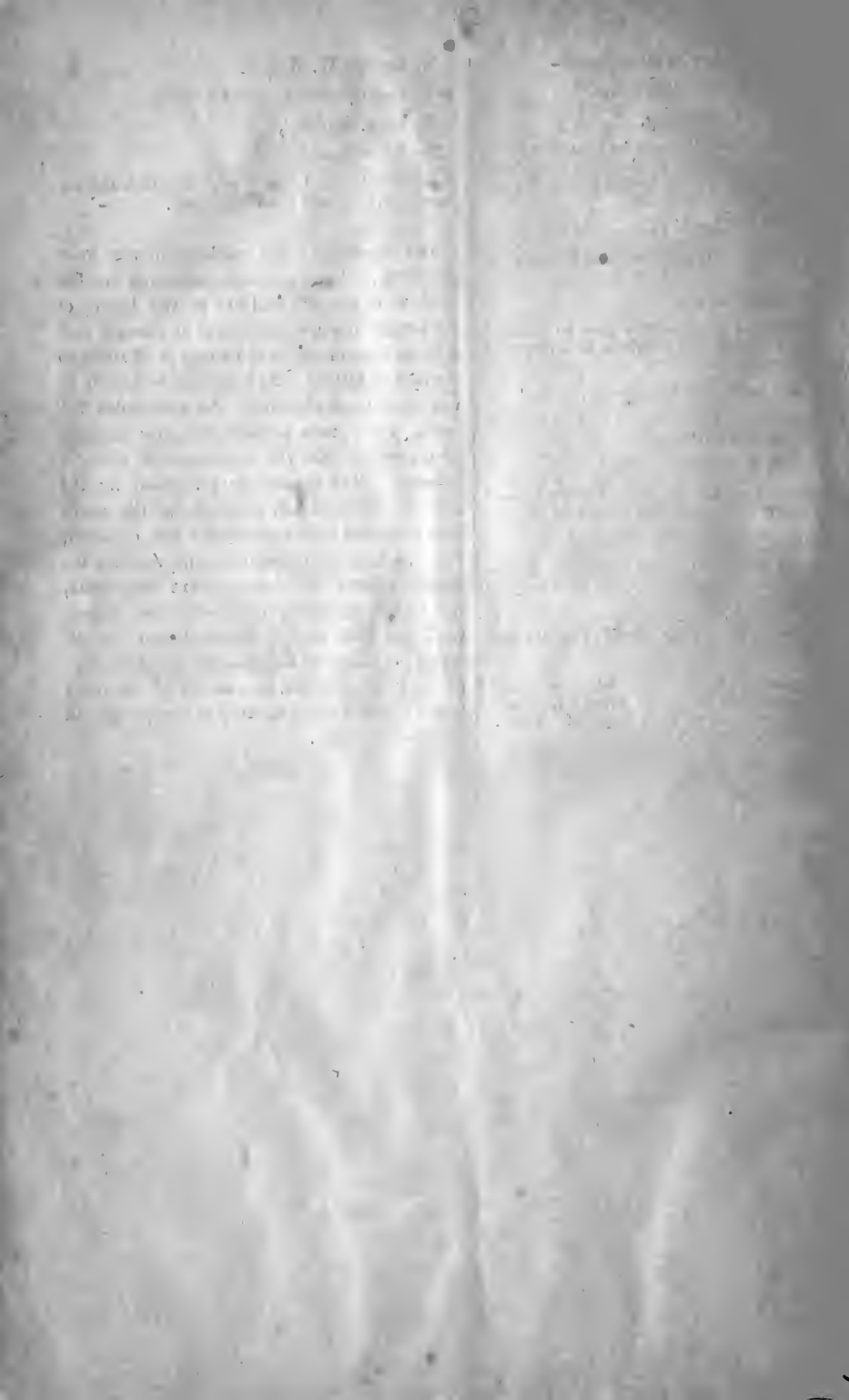
Our Country—Not divided by wrong.

By Thos. Kinsley,

The Salem Band.

Band—"Auld Lang Syne," in which the audience joined, and then dispersed.

The success of the celebration was most gratifying. As a movement indicating that the truths of democracy still live in the hearts of the people, it was significant of an earnest and resolute determination to be true at all times to the faith of fathers. As a reunion of friends it was cordial and cheering. As a stimulus for action, every man present felt new courage for the contest with the opponents of the democracy. The sentiments expressed by the able and distinguished members of the party who furnished their counsels for the occasion, roused a renewed determination. And for the time all other considerations were laid aside, in a liberal, generous, unanimous and hearty resolution to do all that democrats can do, towards perpetuating the memory of JEFFERSON as one of the proudest possessions of the party which cherishes that memory in every state in our confederation.















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